/16/

601 614 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 602 614 An individual, when born, is related to the members of two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use [609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 587 614 614 595 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belonging to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.462-B]

682 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or
683 godparental, relations with them.
621
608 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or
682 affinal relatives of the victim. The high fre-
593 quency of killings involving brothers or
607 brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male
602 siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest
476 cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship
428 pairs who work the milpa in common and share the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to mem-
682 bers of the family (two cases). The brother
627 figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also
593 as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders. 648

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an unusual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile. 628

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the deserted village that bears their name. It was described at the beginning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo. 621 609

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination. 829

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination. 593 594 602 627 [672]

601 conforms to what has been termed teknonymy in the literature.
551 The occurrence of such an expression as /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HWAN/ led us to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for membership in the teknonymous construction. Informants agree that the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be hereafter distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

Terms of compadrazgo

601 The terminology of compadrazgo, ritual kinship, includes
608 the following forms which are shown in Table 10 (p. 30). The terms /-KUMPRE/ and /KUMRE/ are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /MUK'UL/ and /C'IN/, these modifiers serving as in kin terms of -1 generation to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating person.

608 The employment of /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ in reference to known
602 siblings of speakers led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for compadrazgo relations. Informants state that a

TABLE 10

COMPADRAZGO

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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Generation
-KUMPRE	M	∅	∅
-KUMRE	F	∅	∅
-NIC'AN+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	M	-1
-*AL+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	F	-1
-TAT+SNARYOS-PAGRINO	M	∅	+1
-ME*+SNARYOS-MAGRINA	F	∅	+1

608
602 person may establish the /-KUMPRE/ relationship with any person except his spouse, his own father, his spouse's father, and the spouses of these persons. Related individuals frequently become compadres--particularly as siblings of the father or the mother are often chosen as padrinos (godparents) of a child--and compadre relationships established at weddings (see below) involve some affinally related individuals (e.g., "brother's wife," "sister's husband") for whom kin terms are reported. Where the person stands in a specified kin relation (e.g., /BANKIL/) to the speaker, the compadrazgo relationship assumes priority over the kin term in reference (as well as in address). These two

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[602]

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	/ ... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AH NINYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-

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1194
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Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

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The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

585 608 601 602 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown. When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

591 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 527 789 *First house fiesta.* In preparation for the fiesta to inaugurate the wooden frame of the house, the older men of the household and the curers make palm crosses called *Tatik Martil,* another reference to San Pedro Martyr. Older men are chosen to do this task because their procreative powers will not be endangered by handling this powerful symbol. Branches of the bushes growing near the springwater of San Nicolás are cut by the younger men of the household to be arranged in an arch, while the women make incense burners and clay candle holders. The protective symbols used in the fiesta—the arch of branches and flowers, the candles, liquor, handrolled cigarettes, palm crosses, and springwater in a gourd—are arranged before the center post of the back wall of the house.

Fig. 1. Relatives Present at House Fiesta

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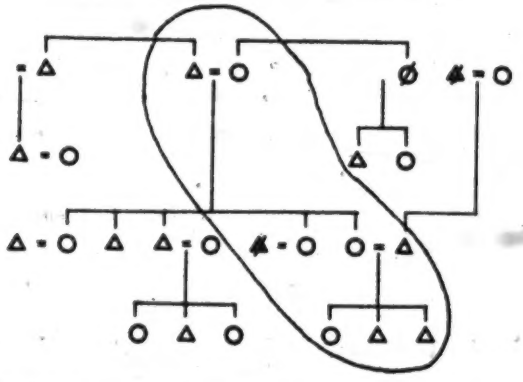

Encircled group will live in house.

342 527 756 788 The activities of a house fiesta observed in 1966 are described below.

The future occupants of the house sat in a row facing the curing arch. Two curers officiated, the elder a resident of the side of the dual division in which the houseowner lives and the second from the barrio in which his son-in-law, Santiago, was born. The elder curer lit the candles at the center post of the back wall, while the younger curer lit those at the center post in the middle wall. The mother of Santiago lit the incense and placed

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel*, the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in,* or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzo?ontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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613 614 621 171 601 type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

601 602 Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology [193] for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*ḥtatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḥantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niẖ'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḥalniẖ'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age relative to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an [174]

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obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzo^{o}ontahal, all members of the community address others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grandfather and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions. [601] [171]

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adaptation to conditions imposed by nucleated compact settlement which may have been prehispanic.

Terminology for affinals differs according to the sex of speaker and the age and generation of referent. Men refer to brother's wife, wife's brother's 601

Fig. 3. Kinship Terms for Consanguineal Relatives

Generation	Collateral Male	Lineal Male	Lineal Female	Collateral Female
Older than grandparent	Mam	Mam	Me'čč	Me'čč
Younger than grandparent	Tat			Me'
+2				
Older than parent	Tat	Tat	Me'	Me'
Younger than parent	Bankil (šī'lel)			Wīš
+1				
Older than ego	Bankil (šī'lel)	EGO		Wīš
Younger than ego	Kihtz'in			Kihtz'in
−1				
	Kihtz'in	Nič'an (Alal)		Kihtz'in
−2				
	Kihtz'in	Mam nič'an		Kihtz'in

Terms in parentheses are female spoken terms.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neigh-
571 bors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called
561 the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil
571 of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-*
621 *wanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related
602 relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in
794 the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct cere-
608 monies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he
[574] must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

621 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years
756 in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged
561 with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government.

The Household and Family

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

602 476 626 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for nonrepeated tasks (housebuilding)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 476 423 62 [606] Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become independent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

571 608 • 602 The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?ispetb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community. [192]

Baptism

852 774 After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A ceremony called *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold. [192]

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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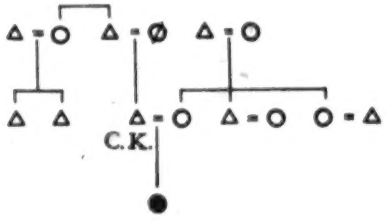
852 608 but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

608 571 [128] The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compadres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

608 571 852 607 [601] *Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man.* C. K. chose as compadres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following diagrams represents the child baptized.



C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	*Occasion*	*Residence of compadre*					*Relationship*		
		Same section	*Opposite section*	*Other barrio*	*Neighboring town*	*Total*	*Relative*	*Non-relative*	*Total*
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

[p. 119]

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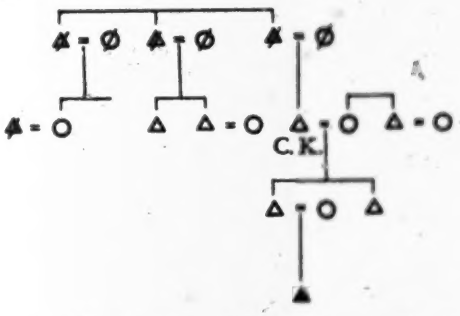
585 795 126 852 169 869 602

608 571 • 607 852 [601] section. Attending this house fiesta was the group of relatives represented in the diagram.



The relatives assembled are essentially the same as those who attended the birth of C. K.'s first child. They are the core of the me?iltatil for his family, a core which expands to include additional compadres and neighbors for special house rituals. The second and third grandchildren had as padrino a man from the opposite section.

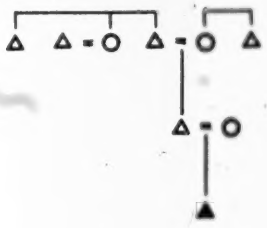
In summary, C. K. has chosen four Indian compadres and two Ladino compadres for the baptisms of his own children. Other members of the me?iltatil who became compadres on these occasions include five men and three women who are bilateral and affinal relatives.

608 852 571 C. K. has been asked to be padrino of baptism by four persons:

1. A neighbor asked him to be padrino of his child. At a small fiesta, he became compadre of the father and godfather of the child.

2. A man from the opposite section asked him to be padrino of his son's child, and he acquired the group of compadres shown in the diagram.

[601]



7: Nash E-5' (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil-marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place.

The betrothal, or *č'om,* is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om,* mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om,* or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam Č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread.

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?il' yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company.

At the final gathering, called the *?il' rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *I?awayi*), is

7: Nash E-5, (1957-1967) 1970

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bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-

tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal.* Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik.* Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʔawai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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827
787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[754] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 *Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-*
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (−) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

628 438 571 608 582 628 166 602 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, mentioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-community marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded cases of emigration from the village, some members of the community keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 [273] Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango, whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 [311] 312 628 776 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

621 The government in the communities of Aguacatenango and Amatenango is highly "democratic," meaning by this term two things: (1) The decisions of the governing officials have to be in agreement with the community desires, and it cannot take steps which contradict the written code of rules (norms) or force villagers to spend money, goods or labor outside the areas of maintenance of outside the community. In ultimate instance, the community can overrule the Ayuntamiento, replace particular officers or deny rights to the total body to carry out certain decisions which are against the will of the majority of house heads. Before any important decision is passed, the officers investigate its possible acceptance among the village men, and they would not take steps until there is a margin of security that their word or orders will be taken by them in good will. The officers' concern [627] with the justice of their performance is quite important for them personally, because although a man enjoys immunity while he holds a cargo, he can be threatened with death at the end of his year of service. These threats are delivered by anonymous messages left at the Cabildo (House of the Ayuntamiento) door, specifying the reasons for discontent. Many a presidente municipal has been murdered for trying to introduce into his village some innovation [954] to which the villagers were opposed. Besides direct threats, there is also the "possibility" of being bewitched while not in office.

[565] (2) The second reason why the community government can [602] be called democratic is that there is no ruling class, as in most Mexican-Ladino towns, nor any special kinship group in charge of the town affairs. A man cannot transmit his political power to

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
529 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
59 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's husband. [428] The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

159 592 437 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

159 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss
592 there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told
437 off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to
602 let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was
going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

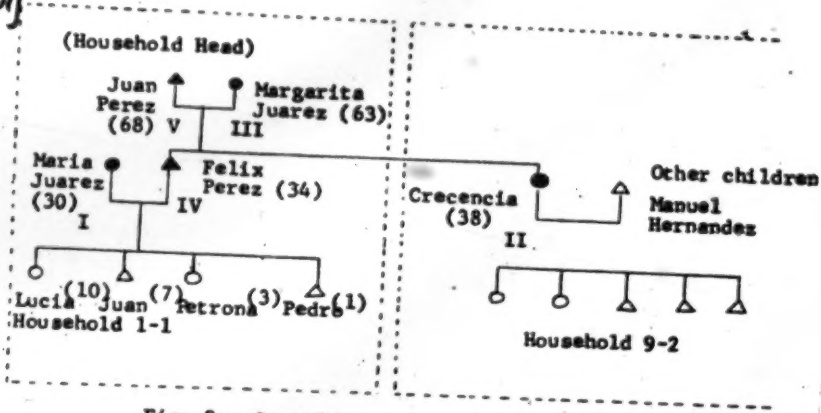

Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to relize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

159 592 437 602 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.

A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that María had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 593 562 421 [431] A woman living with her husband in a separate household has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] [851] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[231] [421] [562] [1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [[82] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [826] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [736] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
591 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
592 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
602 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
476 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
241 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
417 mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
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591 The preceding figures, when combined with the figures of compounds, show that the patrilocal norms are followed in practice in 95 per cent of all cases (see Tables 8 and 9), while only 64 per cent of the women live with the same degree of proximity to their parents.

The difference in proximity for men and women is not accidental, but statistically significant at the 0.001 level of confidence. This also shows that the community, as expected, is divided into localized clusters of households of agnatically related men. Even the 64 per cent is an inflated figure, since a man tends to marry a woman who lives close to his parental home, following the proverbial adage of "marrying the girl next door."

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591 Alternative Norms of Uxorilocal Residence

The percentage of men who do not conform to the patrilocal norm are not exceptions to a rule, but illustrate alternatives available under a flexible pattern. The instances of uxorilocal residence do not depend on arbitrary individual choice, but are socially sanctioned and few in number.

591 A man will go to live with his wife's parents, or live in a house given to him by her father, for the following reasons which everybody in the village knows:

1. When a man is an orphan, that is, when his parents are dead and there is nobody in his family to replace the father as economic mentor and jural authority, a man does not have a household to bring his wife to live in nor a relative to work with and who will give him a house lot. In this case, a man, upon marrying, will move to his wife's parent's compound. He will then work the

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591 in the house of a mother-in-law" as one informant expressed it.
606 If they did not try to avoid this, they would have unquestioningly to obey their affinal relatives (especially the mother-in-law), live in a place in which they have practically no power to make decisions, and where, for a long time (even after the birth of a first child), they would be considered outsiders. But because the refusal to follow the husband means the end of the marriage, most husbands are successful in changing the place of residence, and few couples remain long in a uxorilocal setting.

59 3. The third reason for living in the wife's parent's
757 house is a temporary one.
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When a woman is living in her husband's parent's house, the household head should take the responsibility for curing if she gets mildly ill, paying the necessary expenses of medicine and curer (or doctors) because she is, by the fact of her residence within the compound, dependent on them.

If a sickness becomes a prolonged or a seriously expensive case, she becomes a burden to the household, without being an economic asset. Both her reproductive and her labor powers become annulled, and her husband's father can refuse to pay for her curing. In this case, she is transferred from her husband's group to her natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his father.

59 These changes of residence create a certain amount of ten-
602 sion between the parents of the young couple because the woman's
757 parents insist that it is not their duty to care for the daughter,

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602 since she is married and living away from them, while the father
757 believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

592 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth
562 this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is
592 an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman
562 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her with-
606 out delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

606 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a
593 woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-
593 law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a
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591 If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in
592 making residence choices, then poorer households, which depend
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434 more on pottery sales as an important source of income, should
361 also show more emphasis on having the daughters stay at home after marriage, and therefore, the incidence of uxorilocal residence and matrilocal proximity of women should be higher.

361 Within Amatenango "there are clusters of bilaterally re-
602 lated kin which form neighborhood groups. Two of these neighborhoods are spatially set apart from other houses of the barrio
361 and are named" (Nash, J., 1960:52). One of them, the neighbor-
591 hood of Santa Cruz, is composed of households which show greater
434 poverty in comparison with the rest of the village. As it was hypothesized, Santa Cruz also shows a greater incidence of matrilocal proximity. The correlation between lack of household wealth (which increases the importance of woman's pottery making) and residential proximity of a woman to her maternal home is statistically significant at the .001 level (see Table 16).

361 On the other hand, one should also expect the married men
591 to live further apart from their own parents because (1) those who
166 stay at home would reside and work with their wife's relatives,
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464 and (2) it is said that some of the men of the neighborhood are forced by their poverty to migrate to the lowlands seeking work in the ranches, and may stay there permanently. This hypotheses is confirmed; the correlation is significant at the .05 level of confidence (see Table 16).

361 The result of poverty in this neighborhood is that while
591 for the community as a whole 49 per cent of the women live in the
434 same neighborhood as their parents, in Santa Cruz 67 per cent of

[Text continued on p. 162]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. [114] Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

323 241 433 182 591 592 621 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

114 602 182 361 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

121 population, such as an endogamous village, ought to be bilateral societies. This is obviously not so. Even if we assume that our statement is a reductio ad absurdum of Nash's point, there is evidence in the immediate vicinity of Amatenango that other villages, equally concentrated in population, with the same physical setting, are not bilateral. J. Nash (1960) compared Amatenango and Aguacatenango in a few paragraphs, and she felt that the evidence supported her theory. However, the data available to her was very unreliable. She quoted a preliminary report of Metzger written before the residence analysis of the community was carried to completion, which contained only impressionistic observations, and gave the impression that residence was neolocal and that agnatically related households were widely spread within the community, which we have shown in chapter vi not to be true.

Moreover, Aguacatenango not only has patri-virilocality, but corporate patrilines. The name-groups in Aguacatenango form localized agnatic descent groups (which we above called the localized clusters of agnatically linked households). The people belonging to a name-group are recognized as relatives or, in Tzeltal, "those who are my family on my father's side." Those individuals have one last name (Indian surname) in common with Ego. Within the Spanish surname, some people are considered in the descent group and some are considered aparte (separate), but a man of the Spanish name Perez, would say that all those Perezetik who are not aparte belong to his family, and any Perez is "closer" to another Perez than to a man of another Spanish name. The reason for the segmentation of the Spanish name-group is lost in the past. When the lineage system was composed of

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Wayal, Obispo and Chalté, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
[829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names to the respective genealogies.

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We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very insistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernandez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Wayal and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

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Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevant names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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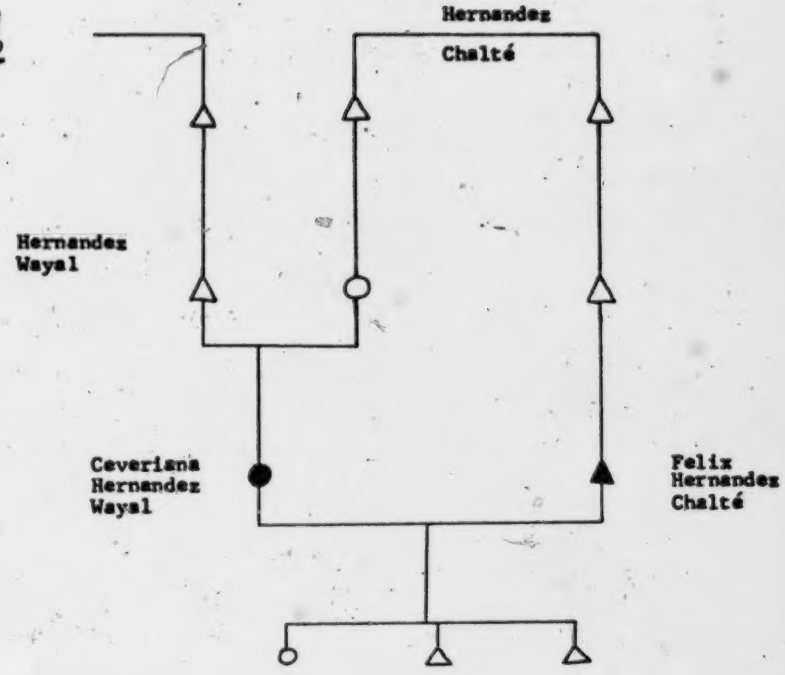

Fig. 14.--Genealogy of Hernandez

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

613 476 [602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. 613 621 476 In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among [432] themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the [462] street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

613 476 626 627 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
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Household 24-7

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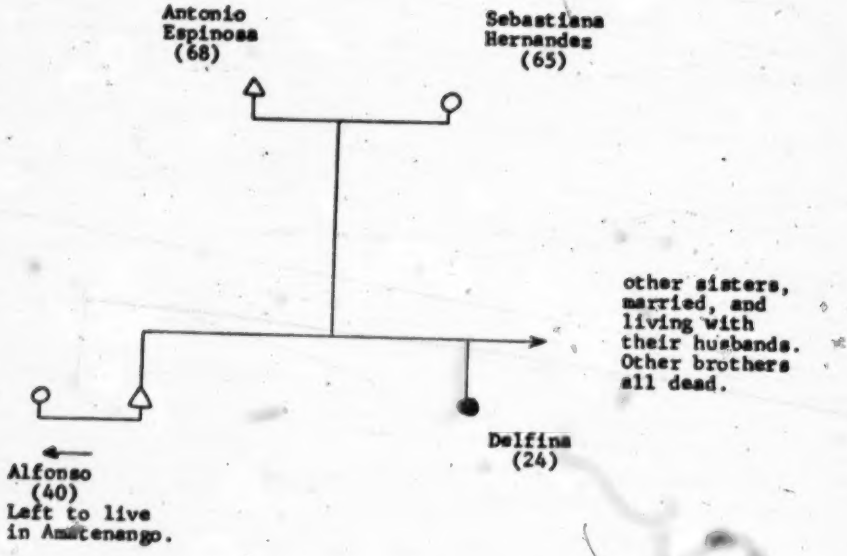

Fig. 15.--Genealogy of Delfina Espinosa

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Amatenango .
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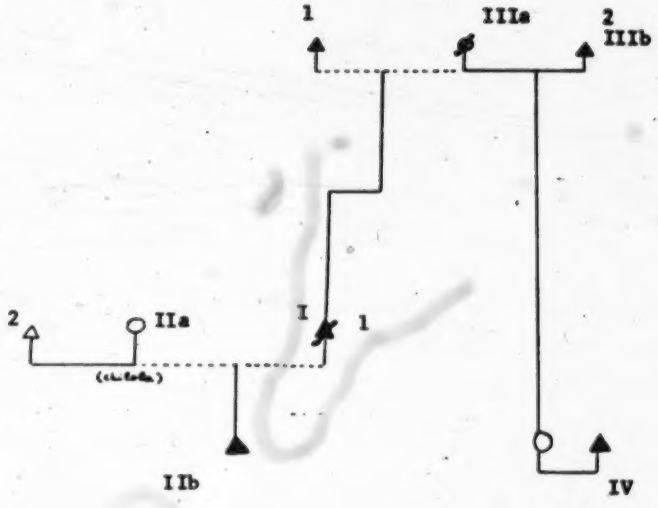

= men that claimed rights over the land.

I to IV indicate the order in which the land has been transmitted. The two men in the youngest generation are the ones contesting each other's rights.

Fig. 16.--Genealogy of Chilola M.

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Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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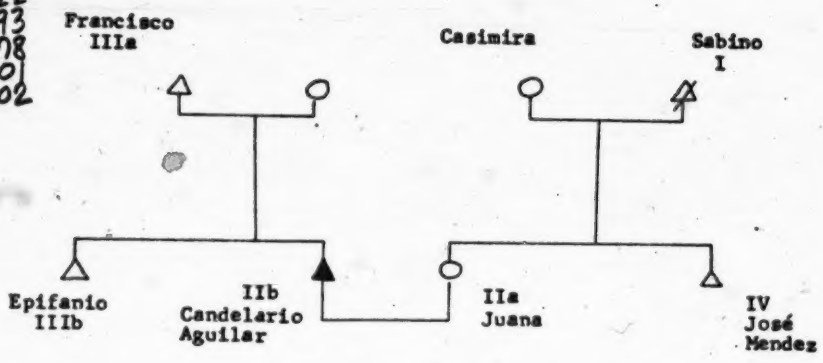

I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
434 marginal property.
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(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is
alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males
and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the do-
mestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital
patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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184 59 428 562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 59 592 562 [428] Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 182 591 592 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

184 59 562 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 59 562 602 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

184 59 602 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 591 602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

184 591 561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

184 591 562 434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

184 591 586 602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 736 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and

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184 621 591 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born, or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 591 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for 121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing 128 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it 602 tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128 602 591 562 561 571 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 591 592 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
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184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
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592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
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181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
592 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and
621 organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

571 developmental cycle of the domestic group; (4) the relations of
592 households within a neighborhood and within the more inclusive
[621] kinship groups; (5) the relative strength of the patriline versus the bilateral group; (6) the functions of the larger territorial endogamous divisions or barrios; and (7) the total community.

[184] Except for the importance of barrio land tenure in Aguacatenango, and general higher wealth of Amatenango as a whole, the system of production does not seem to affect the structuring of relationships at a level higher than the household and the particular type of rights and duties of members of the extended family of each village.

184 The position of women for the village at large is very
562 similar in the two communities. Except for the fact that Amatenango women have the economic power and the legal right to take cases to the Ayuntamiento on their own, neither the women of Aguacatenango nor of Amatenango has rights to political officership, nor to roles outside the domestic domain, which, once more, confirms the anthropological truth that whatever the descent system, or the economic organization, jural authority is ultimately vested in the hands of the males of a society.

182 Economic factors are not the only factors affecting the
571 interpersonal relations of the villagers. The economic structure
602 is a given historical and cultural fact. Many choices of behavior, which are economic choices in their immediate context, are not so in terms of the long range view of the system. First, the kinship system seems to limit the range of economic alternatives for the individual, independently of the fact that choices

182 571 based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material
(602) benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second,
182 183 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work
461 which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he
556 is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth,
are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical."
156 177 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the
choice of improving his life from an economic point of view,
156 626 556 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian
attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as

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121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can

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000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows 128 591 571 602 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

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128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[57] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It
[602] tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful
128 descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic
128 unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
114 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
127 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

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the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3.

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[5] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ik̓oltawanehetik*, the fe-

[5] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nak̓awanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak̓*, found in other Maya languages (Lal?arge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *k̓awanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.'

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *ɓal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors.

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male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzo?ontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *me?il k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nič'anil*.

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *pat?ot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is sni?ik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church.

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal.

[R 217-A]

as a team. Thus the junior *(nič'apil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanchetik*, the group of elders

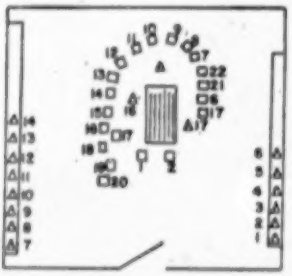

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

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ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yo?tan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *mu?* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood *(yak hilel firma ta čič?)*. Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it. 754 756

"How did he speak to you?" 124

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzo?ontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Swana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Spet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

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Appendix 1 — Change of Officials in the Townhall

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?ak' ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermano-tak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
914	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [242]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stotil nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to pāli gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak' ni?etik'*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

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APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČ'ʔTEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakʂawane*
	NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
	ʔAK'SIETIK, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
	MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakʂawane's* greetings
	SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
	AʔTELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
	YULATAK, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
	MEʔELETIK, women Meʔil k'op Sčebal Smeʔ Yolebal Smeʔ	Mother or elder relative ? ? ?	Responds to *nakʂawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
	SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*KʼAʔʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
	ʔALPERESETIK, alferezes	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

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APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

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[574] [604] [605] [593] [608] [602] [608]

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
	ME?ELETIK, women Me?ilk'op, woman speaker	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanchetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos